Status legitimizing beliefs predict positivity toward Whites who claim anti-White bias ☆

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HIGHLIGHTS

- We examine Whites' reactions toward Whites who claim to be victims of anti-White bias
- Whites react less negatively toward claimants when SLBs are activated
- SLB activation increases helping intentions toward anti-White bias claimants

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

Although Whites are increasingly likely to perceive themselves as victims of racial bias, research provides little insight into how anti-White bias claimants are perceived. Two studies examined whether Whites' endorsement of status legitimizing beliefs (SLBs) moderates their reactions toward White discrimination claimants. In Study 1, Whites who rejected SLBs reacted less favorably to an anti-White bias claimant relative to one who made a nondiscriminatory external claim, whereas Whites who endorsed SLBs expressed equally positive attitudes toward an anti-White bias claimant and a non-claimant. In Study 2, Whites who were not primed with status legitimizing beliefs displayed negative reactions toward an anti-White bias claimant compared to a non-claimant, whereas those primed with SLBs expressed more positive attitudes and a desire to help the anti-White bias claimant. Implications for affirmative action litigation are discussed.

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Introduction

Whites in the United States are increasingly likely to see themselves as victims of racial discrimination (Norton & Sommers, 2011). Furthermore, the majority (58%) of White 18–24 years olds agree, "discrimination against Whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against Blacks and other minorities" (Public Religion Research Institute, 2012). Whites' perceptions of anti-White bias are also prominently featured in several recent high-profile Supreme Court cases that address affirmative action in college admissions and employment decisions (e.g. Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin, 2013; Ricci v. DeStefano, 2009; also see Apfelbaum, Norton, & Sommers, 2012; Plaut, 2011).

Although a number of studies have examined reactions to racial minorities' (e.g. Kaiser & Miller, 2001, 2003) and women's (e.g. Garcia, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Ellemers, 2010; Shelton & Stewart, 2004) claims of discrimination, research has surprisingly neglected to examine reactions to Whites' claims of anti-White bias. Given the increased tendency for Whites to perceive themselves as victims of discrimination, coupled with the societal and legal implications of these claims, it is important to examine how anti-White bias claims are perceived.

Status legitimacy and high-status groups' reactions to low-status groups' discrimination claims

How do high status group members respond to discrimination claims? Theoretical perspectives examining reactions to discrimination claims highlight how beliefs about the legitimacy of status relations in society shape high-status group members' reactions to discrimination claimants (Jost & Burgess, 2000; Kaiser, 2006; Kaiser, Dyrenforth, & Hagiwara, 2006). Status legitimizing beliefs (SLBs) encompass a set of beliefs asserting that anyone can improve their social status as long as they work hard, are motivated, and are talented (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2011; Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Moscovici, 1981; O'Brien & Major, 2005). SLBs rationalize the existing status hierarchy: making it appear fair and legitimate and include ideologies such as meritocracy (individuals' inputs correspond to their outcomes in society; e.g. Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003), the *belief in a just world* (the idea that people get what they deserve and deserve what they get; Lerner,

1980), and the *Protestant work ethic* (the idea that hard work is rewarded; e.g. Katz & Hass, 1988). Thus, there are a variety of related beliefs that collectively serve to justify the status system (Jost & Hunyady, 2005).

According to system-justifying perspectives, when low-status groups claim to experience racial bias, it challenges beliefs about the legitimacy of the status hierarchy and thus threatens high-status groups, who react by derogating discrimination claimants (Kaiser, 2006). Indeed, high-status groups generally respond negatively towards low-status individuals who claim discrimination relative to those who do not claim to experience bias (Kaiser, 2006; Kaiser & Miller, 2001, 2003; Schultz & Maddox, 2013; Shelton & Stewart, 2004).

Further, several empirical studies provide direct support for the role of system legitimacy in understanding how high-status groups react to low-status groups' discrimination claims (Jost & Burgess, 2000; Kaiser et al., 2006). For example, Jost and Burgess (2000) demonstrated that among men, stronger *belief in a just world* was associated with more negative reactions toward a woman who confronted sexism. Kaiser and colleagues (Kaiser et al., 2006) also demonstrated that Whites' greater SLB endorsement corresponded to greater negativity toward Blacks who blamed a negative outcome on discrimination (but not for those who blamed non-discriminatory internal and external causes). Therefore, when a low-status individual claims to be a victim of bias, the more high-status perceivers believe the system is just, the more negatively they react, because the claim challenges the perceived fairness of the existing social structure.

High-status groups' reactions to high-status groups' discrimination claims

In contrast to low-status individuals' claims of discrimination, high-status group members' discrimination claims do not threaten the status hierarchy; in fact, they support it. Given Whites' traditional position at the top of the racial status hierarchy in the US, a claim of anti-White bias could be perceived of as an attempt to maintain the social hierarchy and Whites' status relative to other social groups (Lee, Pratto, & Johnson, 2011; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Taylor, Fry, & Kochhar, 2011). Indeed, high-status groups are especially motivated to justify their high social standing (e.g. Jost & Banaji, 1994; Major, 1994; Major, McFarlin, & Gagnon, 1989). Theoretically, the more high-status individuals endorse SLBs, the more they are likely to believe their group is entitled to high status and to favorable outcomes relative to other social groups (Major, 1994). Consequently, the more Whites endorse beliefs that legitimize the status hierarchy, the more they are expected to react favorably to anti-White bias claims.

Indeed, past research suggests that among high-status groups, SLB endorsement may produce greater receptivity to high-status groups' claims of bias. For example, men primed with SLBs are more likely than those in a control condition, to blame discrimination when they are passed over for a position in favor of a woman (McCoy & Major, 2007). Major and colleagues (Major et al., 2002) also found that SLBs are associated with greater perceptions of personal discrimination among high-status groups following rejection by a low-status individual. Furthermore, when SLB-endorsing Whites are primed to perceive the status hierarchy as unstable, as a result of racial minorities' social advancement, they are more inclined to perceive anti-White bias than those in a control condition (Wilkins & Kaiser, under review). Thus, among high-status groups, SLB endorsement corresponds to increased perceptions of bias against their own group.

What remains unclear from the previous research is whether SLBs cause differential reactions to claims of anti-White bias. At first glance, our theorizing may lead to the assumption that Whites who endorse SLBs will react particularly favorably toward anti-White bias claimants. However, we believe that outright favoritism toward anti-White bias claimants is an unlikely response. Instead, we anticipate that SLB endorsing Whites' positivity toward anti-White bias claimants will manifest as the *absence of derogation* of anti-White bias claimants. We suspect that Whites' predominant reaction to White discrimination claimants will be to express disdain for these individuals, as aligning with them risks

being perceived as a racist: something that is morally and socially frowned upon. Indeed, Whites have great concern over being viewed as racist (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006; Plant & Devine, 1998; Shelton, West, & Trail, 2010; Sommers & Norton, 2006). And, Whites who claim anti-White bias are perceived as racist (Blodorn & O'Brien, 2013). This concern about appearing racist should lead Whites, on average, to distance themselves from anti-White bias claimants and to express negativity toward them. However, negativity toward anti-White bias claimants is expected to be mitigated among Whites who endorse SLBs. In other words, we hypothesize that SLB-endorsing Whites will express their increased positivity toward anti-White bias claimants by no longer displaying the typical pattern of disdain.

Current research

In this research, we examined how Whites react towards a White individual who fails to receive a promotion at work and either claims to have been a victim of racial discrimination or makes another attribution for his failure. We examined the relationship between status legitimizing belief endorsement and reactions toward the claimant (Studies 1 and 2) and reported willingness to help the target (Study 2). We hypothesized that on average, responses to anti-White bias claimants would be negative relative to non-claimants, and that this pattern would be particularly apparent among SLB rejecters. In contrast, SLB endorsement was predicted to correspond to relatively positive reactions toward claimants.

Study 1A

Study 1 was designed to test whether SLB endorsement moderates Whites' reactions to a White individual who claims anti-White bias. We expected that the default reaction to a discrimination claimant would be more negative than reactions to an individual who blames a negative outcome on another external factor. However, we expected that Whites who endorse SLBs would have equally positive reactions to claimants and non-claimants.

Participants and procedures

Participants were 199 Whites (54.6% female; Age: $M = 38.07$ $SD = 13.31$) who were recruited online through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) (see Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011 for a discussion of this sample) in exchange for 50 cents. After removing individuals who engaged in random clicking, 183 participants remained.

Participants were asked to form an impression of a purported participant in a previous study on "career success". All participants read about a White man in his 30s who failed to receive a promotion at work. After reviewing the man's demographic information, participants were assigned to one of two experimental conditions, which manipulated the target's attributions for the promotion decision. Specifically, the target indicated that he had failed to receive a promotion at work and that a coworker had been promoted instead of him. In the *discrimination claim condition*, the target indicated that the coworker was Black and further wrote: "all this stuff about "workforce diversity" is just reverse racism against guys like me". In the *no-claim condition*, the target wrote that he was unsure as to why he did not receive the promotion saying: "I guess it was more competitive than I thought". This control condition was designed to serve as an external claim because the target did not blame his negative outcome on either himself or on discrimination (see Kaiser et al., 2006 for use of a similar control).[1] Participants

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[1] We recognize that any attribution will not be purely internal or external, and that the distinction is one of relativity. Discrimination can be viewed as stemming from internal causes (one's social identity) and external causes (another's bias). And competition can be seen as stemming from internal causes (not being good enough) and external causes (others being particularly capable).

then completed measures assessing their impression of the target and reported their endorsement of status legitimizing beliefs.

Measures

Items were assessed in the following order on a 0–6 scale (anchored at strongly disagree and strongly agree).

Positive evaluation

Positive evaluation of the target was assessed with 5 items: "He seems intelligent," "He would be nice to have a conversation with," "He seems motivated to succeed in his career," "He seems to have a strong work ethic," "I would hire him for a job," $\alpha = .89$; $M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.21$.

Status legitimizing beliefs

SLBs were assessed by Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, and Federico (1998) 12-items designed to measure *system legitimacy* (perceiving the system as being fair): e.g. "America is a just society where differences in status between ethnic groups reflects actual group differences;" *system permeability* (perception that all individuals, regardless of ethnicity, can achieve social advancement): e.g. "America is an open society where individuals of any ethnicity can achieve higher status;" and *Protestant work ethic* (the idea that hard work is rewarded): e.g. "If people work hard they almost always get what they want." These items were averaged together to form the SLB composite, as they represent a unified construct (O'Brien & Major, 2005) and reliably correlate with other forms of system-justifying ideologies (Jost & Hunyady, 2005), $\alpha = .87$; $M = 2.68$, $SD = 1.04$.

Results

Analysis strategy

In order for SLBs to serve as a moderator, they must not be affected by experimental condition, which was indeed the case, $t(181) = -.06$, $p = .95$. To test our hypothesis, the main effects of SLBs (mean-centered) and condition (0 = discrimination claim) were entered on step 1 of a hierarchical linear regression. The interaction between SLBs and condition was entered on Step 2. In order to examine whether there were differences between conditions for individuals high and low in SLB endorsement, the condition effects were examined for participants who were high (1 SD above the mean) and low (1 SD below the mean) in SLB endorsement (Aiken & West, 1991).

We also examined whether male and female participants would respond differently to the male target. No significant main effects or interactions were found by gender (p's > .15), so we collapsed across participant sex in all analyses.

Positive evaluation

There was a significant main effect of condition such that participants in the *discrimination claim* condition ($M = 2.61$, $SD = 1.34$) viewed the target significantly less positively than the participants in the *no-claim* condition ($M = 3.75$, $SD = 1.34$), $F(2, 180) = 7.54$, $p < .001$. This result is consistent with the hypothesis that on average, individuals react negatively to claims of discrimination. As predicted, this effect was qualified by a significant interaction between SLBs and condition, $F(3, 179) = 9.274$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .12$. See Fig. 1.

Next we examined specific predictions about condition differences among SLB endorsers and rejecters. As expected, among individuals who rejected SLBs (1 SD below the mean), those in the *discrimination claim* condition evaluated the target significantly less positively than individuals in the *no-claim* condition, $b = 1.26$, $SE = .24$, $t(179) = 5.24$, $p < .001$. For SLB endorsers (1 SD above the mean) participants in the *discrimination claim* condition did not
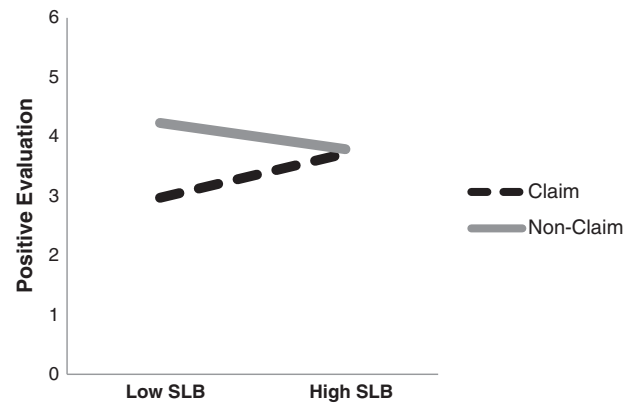
Fig. 1. Positive evaluations of target by SLB endorsement and claim condition (Study 1).

significantly differ from participants in the *no-claim* condition, $b = .08$, $SE = .24$, $t(179) = .35$, $p = .72$ in their evaluations of the target

Discussion

Study 1 was designed to assess how Whites' beliefs about status legitimacy predict their reactions to ingroup members who claim, or do not claim, to have been victims of racial discrimination. Consistent with hypotheses, Whites who rejected SLBs demonstrated less positive evaluations of anti-White bias claimants than non-claimants. This is consistent with theoretical perspectives that Whites do not want to affiliate with those who may reflect poorly on their nonprejudicial self-image (e.g. Sommers & Norton, 2006). In contrast, Whites who endorsed SLBs did not show disdain for anti-White bias claimants. This is consistent with theoretical perspectives on legitimacy arguing that SLB-endorsement will correspond with more favorable reactions toward anti-White bias claimants.

Study 1B

While results were consistent with hypotheses, one potential methodological confound of Study 1 is that participants in the non-claim condition were not explicitly told that the target in the non-claim condition lost the promotion to a Black individual. One could argue that SLB endorsers might react more positively to any White individual who was passed over in favor of a Black colleague: making our condition effects less about a claim and more about losing out to a Black individual. In order to rule out this alternative explanation, we reran Study 1 with a modified design. In the new design, the target in both the claim and no claim condition referred to the individual who received the promotion as Tyrone (a stereotypical Black name).

Results were consistent with Study 1; there was a significant interaction between SLB endorsement and claim condition, $F(3, 55) = 4.77$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .16$. SLB rejecters evaluated the claimant significantly less positively than the non-claimant, $b = 1.23$, $SE = .44$, $t(55) = 2.79$, $p = .007$. SLB endorsers showed no significant differences in positive evaluations between the *discrimination claim* and *no claim* conditions, $b = -.05$ $SE = .43$, $t(55) = -.12$, $p = .91$: replicating the results of Study 1. Thus, in Study 1b we established that lack of information about the race of the candidate who received the promotion does not provide an alternative explanation for Study 1 results.

Study 2

Study 1 and 1b supported our hypothesis that SLBs moderate Whites' evaluations of anti-White bias claims. In Study 2 we were interested in examining whether SLBs play a *causal* role in evaluations of discrimination claimants by utilizing an experimental paradigm to manipulate SLBs. We also sought to extend our findings to examine how

evaluations might translate into behavioral intentions to help White discrimination claimants. We reasoned that more favorable reactions to anti-White bias claimants would correspond to greater efforts to reach out and rectify the perceived wrong experienced by the claimant. More specifically, we were interested in testing the hypotheses that Whites who were primed with SLBs would be equally helpful toward Whites who claim discrimination as those who did not claim discrimination, while those in the neutral prime condition would report greater helping intentions toward the non-claimant relative to the claimant.

Participants and procedure

Participants were 162 Whites (45.5% female; $M_{Age} = 30.06$ $SD_{age} = 9.40$) who were recruited online through MTurk in exchange for $1. Twenty individuals were removed from analyses for engaging in random clicking.

The current study employed a two-study ruse. Participants were recruited to participate in a study on "Cognitive Performance" and an unrelated study on "Person Perception". The "Cognitive Performance" study served as the manipulation of SLBs. We primed SLBs using a previously established and validated sentence unscramble task (McCoy & Major, 2007; Srull & Wyer, 1979; also see Laurin, Fitzsimons, & Kay, 2011, Study 4). In this task, participants were given 20 sets of 5 words and were instructed to make 4 word sentences. They had 5 minutes to complete as many of the 20 sentences as possible. Participants were randomly assigned to either the *SLB prime* or *neutral prime* condition. In the *SLB prime* condition participants unscrambled sentences highlighting status-legitimizing beliefs (e.g. item: "fair close usually is life"; answer: "Life is usually fair."; item: "effort positive prosperity leads to"; answer: "Effort leads to prosperity."). In the *neutral prime* condition participants unscrambled sentences unrelated to SLBs (e.g. item: "cakes she fluffy likes cats"; answer: "She likes fluffy cats"; item: "books open worlds count new"; answer: "Books open new worlds."). Participants then proceeded to the "Person Perception" study and were randomly assigned to either the *discrimination claim or no claim* condition described in Study 1. We expected that participants in the neutral SLB prime condition would react more negatively toward discrimination claimants relative to non-claimants, whereas those in the SLB prime condition would react equally positively to the discrimination claimant and non-claimants.

Measures

Positive evaluations
Positive evaluations were assessed with same items from Study 1, $\alpha = .89$; $M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.24$.

Behavioral helping intentions
Intentions of helping the target were assessed by 3 items: "If he were up for another promotion would you help him prepare for his interview?" "Would you be willing to offer him advice about his career?" "How likely are you to try to avoid this individual?" (reverse scored). The scales were anchored at "0 = not at all" and "6 = very much," $\alpha = .74$; $M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.34$.

Results

Analysis strategy

To test whether there was an interaction between prime condition and claim condition, a 2 (prime: *SLB prime* vs. *neutral prime*) × 2 (claim: *discrimination claim* vs. *no claim*) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for each DV.
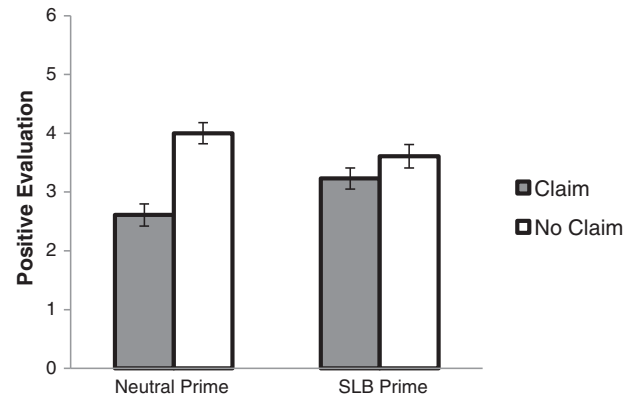

Fig. 2. Positive evaluation of target by SLB prime and claim condition (Study 2). Bars represent standard error of the mean.

Positive evaluation

There was a significant main effect of claim condition, $F(1,139) = 21.78$, $p < .001$; $\eta_p^2 = .14$ (discrimination claim: $M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.17$; no claim: $M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.14$), but not of SLB prime condition, $F(1,139) = .34$, $p = .56$; $\eta_p^2 = .002$. The main effect of claim condition was qualified by the expected interaction, $F(1,139) = 6.98$, $p < .01$; $\eta_p^2 = .05$.

Participants in the *neutral prime* condition showed a significant difference between the *no-claim* condition ($M = 4.01$, $SE = .18$) and the *discrimination claim* condition ($M = 2.61$, $SE = .18$), such that discrimination claimants were evaluated significantly less favorably, $F(1,139) = 27.73$, $p < .001$; $\eta_p^2 = .17$. However, when participants were primed with SLBs, there was no difference between the *discrimination claim* condition ($M = 3.23$, $SE = .18$) and the *no claim* condition ($M = 3.61$, $SE = .20$), $F(1,139) = 1.97$, $p = .16$; $\eta_p^2 = .01$. See Fig. 2.

Behavioral helping intentions

There was a significant main effect of claim condition, $F(1,139) = 17.23$, $p < .001$; $\eta_p^2 = .11$ (discrimination claim: $M = 3.19$, $SD = 1.36$; no claim: $M = 4.07$, $SD = 1.17$), but no main effect of SLB prime, $F(1,139) = .89$, $p = .35$; $\eta_p^2 = .01$ in predicting behavioral helping intentions. The main effect was qualified by a significant interaction, $F(1,139) = 3.80$, $p = .05$; $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

Participants in the neutral prime condition expressed significantly fewer intention to help in the *discrimination claim* condition ($M = 2.87$, $SE = .21$) compared to the *no claim* condition ($M = 4.16$, $SE = .20$), $F(1,139) = 19.32$, $p < .001$; $\eta_p^2 = .12$. In contrast, those primed with SLBs showed no significant differences in helping intentions toward
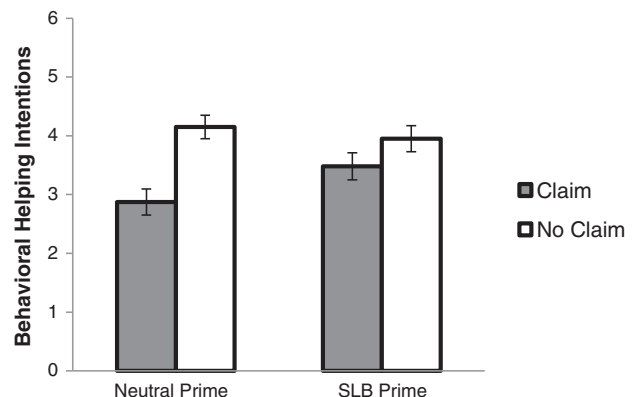

Fig. 3. Behavioral helping intention by SLB prime and claim condition (Study 2). Bars represent standard error of the mean.

targets who claimed discrimination ($M = 3.48, SE = .20$) and those who did not claim ($M = 3.95, SE = .23$), $F(1,139) = 2.34, p = .13; \eta_p^2 = .02$. See Fig. 3.

Discussion

Study 2 provides experimental evidence that SLB endorsement *causes* Whites to differentially react to White targets who claim to be victims of anti-White bias. Participants in the neutral prime condition replicated the finding from Study 1, demonstrating that Whites who do not strongly endorse SLBs dislike White discrimination claimants relative to non-claimants. They also reported being reluctant to help the target with future job applications. However, when SLBs are primed, this negativity toward White discrimination claimants was eliminated, and Whites evaluated claimants just as positively as non-claimants. Participants primed with SLBs also reporting an equal likelihood of helping targets who claimed and did not claim anti-White bias. This study suggests that SLBs buffer the negative impact of claiming racial discrimination on perceiver's evaluations of the target, and may increase the likelihood that claimants receive help from perceivers.

General discussion

Given the increased tendency for Whites to perceive themselves as victims of racial bias (Norton & Sommers, 2011), it is critical to understand how individuals react to anti-White bias claimants. Receptivity to White discrimination claimants will also likely affect the outcomes of court rulings (e.g. affirmative action cases; *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin*). Greater positivity toward White discrimination claimants has the downstream consequence of disbanding affirmative action programs, which many argue remain vital to increasing racial diversity on college campuses.

Findings from two studies reveal that Whites generally dislike other Whites who claim to be victims of anti-White bias. However, consistent with the argument that claims of discrimination have important implications for status legitimacy (Jost & Burgess, 2000; Kaiser, 2006; Kaiser et al., 2006), we found that when SLBs are activated, that distain dissipates, and Whites are more inclined to respond positively toward and report intentions to help Whites who claim discrimination. These findings highlight the important, yet opposing, implications of status legitimacy for high and low-status group members' claims of discrimination. While high-status groups' SLB endorsement corresponds with more *negative* reactions toward low-status discrimination claims (Jost & Burgess; Kaiser et al., 2006), these same beliefs increase *positivity* toward high-status discrimination claimants.

Caveats

Although we did not predict that strong SLB endorsers would react more positively toward anti-White bias claimants relative to non-claimants, there are undoubtedly factors that would produce such a pattern. For example, if individuals are low in the motivation to control prejudice (Dunton & Fazio, 1997), unconcerned with appearing racist (Plant & Devine, 1998), or believe the situation would support anti-White bias claims (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), they may indeed show a preference for claimants. In addition, Whites high in racial identification may perceive that anti-White bias claimants are protecting group interests and thus react more positively toward them than non-claimants (see Kaiser, Hagiwara, Malahy, & Wilkins, 2009; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Finally, given research that indicates that young Whites (younger on average than our samples: 18–24) perceive that discrimination against Whites is severe (Public Religion Research Institute, 2012) as well as indications that individuals in general believe that anti-White bias is increasing (Norton & Sommers, 2011), it may be the case that in the future, individuals will react more positively toward White discrimination claimants.

Limitations

While the current research offers several meaningful insights into how SLBs impact reactions to anti-White bias claims, it is not without its limitations. For example, although we have framed our conceptual analysis around the construct of system justification, it is important to acknowledge that because Whites reside at the top of the racial hierarchy, system-justifying beliefs also serve a group-justifying function (Jost & Hunyady, 2002). Thus, both system and group-justification could account for our White participants' results. Future research could compare the contributions of both system and group justifying motivations by including measures of both constructs as moderators of reactions to discrimination claimants.

Additionally, we did not measure our participants' racial attitudes and thus cannot say whether SLBs are a proxy for prejudice against Blacks and thus, receptivity towards Whites' anti-White bias claims. We, however, believe it is unlikely that explicit prejudice accounts for our results; among Whites there is only a modest correlation between status legitimizing beliefs and attitudes towards Blacks (Chambers, Schlenker, & Collisson, 2013).

Implications

Despite these limitations, our results have a number of important implications. Given the finding that SLBs are associated with both positive impressions of claimants and helping intentions, it suggests that SLB-endorsing Whites may attempt to right perceived wrong when they witness anti-White bias claims. This raises the question of how far individuals who encounter bias claims will go to make the situation fair. For example, after witnessing an anti-White bias claim, would SLB-endorsers subsequently show ingroup bias, favoring Whites over Blacks for positions in order to compensate for the perceived previous injustice?

This work also has a number of legal implications. When justices or juries hear cases involving claims of anti-White bias, it is likely that their endorsement of SLBs will influence how receptive they are to the claim. Individuals whose beliefs about the legitimacy of the status hierarchy have been situationally reinforced, or those who chronically believe the system is fair, may be more inclined to react favorably than those who reject SLBs. As the recent *Ashcroft v. Iqbal* court ruling now encourages judges to use their personal discretion to decide whether discrimination claims should proceed—our work suggests that judges' decisions are likely to be largely swayed by their worldviews and thus, may be less driven by objective facts of the case (Quintanilla, 2011).

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